




2014

Little Emperors and an Army of Orphans: The Government's Control over the Idea of Family in an Overpopulated World

Corinna L. Miller
Georgia Southern University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.georgiasouthern.edu/honors-theses>

 Part of the [Eastern European Studies Commons](#), [Family Law Commons](#), [Law and Gender Commons](#), [Mental and Social Health Commons](#), [Social Policy Commons](#), [Social Welfare Commons](#), and the [Social Welfare Law Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Miller, Corinna L., "Little Emperors and an Army of Orphans: The Government's Control over the Idea of Family in an Overpopulated World" (2014). *University Honors Program Theses*. 1.
<https://digitalcommons.georgiasouthern.edu/honors-theses/1>

This thesis (open access) is brought to you for free and open access by Digital Commons@Georgia Southern. It has been accepted for inclusion in University Honors Program Theses by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons@Georgia Southern. For more information, please contact digitalcommons@georgiasouthern.edu.

Little Emperors and an Army of Orphans: The Government's Control over the Idea of Family in an Overpopulated World

An Honors Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Honors in International Studies.

By
Corinna Miller

Under the mentorship of Dr. Darin Van Tassell

ABSTRACT

This research elaborates on the connection between governmental policies for population control and the psychological effects felt by its citizens. Governments enact laws to form and shape their country, but when plans to benefit society as a whole overspill into the personal rights of families, there can be unforeseen consequences that span across cultural, economic and physiological wellbeing. These side effects can have debilitating outcomes for countless generations to come, even after the policy has been abolished. In an age where exponential population growth is a severe problem, this study attempts to understand what happens when governmental policies influence the decision of family size.. By using the case study of the historic Declaration of 1966 to increase population in Romania and the case study of present day attempts to limit population in China, this paper correlates the reasons behind their development and their long term consequences, ultimately reaching a conclusion regarding the balance of benefits versus consequences caused by these measures. In a crowded world where more of these policies are likely to be introduced, this research seeks to educate better in hopes that people will understand the implications of such policies.

Thesis Mentor: _____

Dr. Darin H. Van Tassell

Honors Director: _____

Dr. Steven Engel

April 2014
Center for International Studies
University Honors Program

Little Emperors and an Army of Orphans: The Government's Control over the Idea of Family in an Overpopulated World

Introduction

Imagine having five children and choosing which one you wanted to never see again. Imagine choosing whether to abandon the oldest one with eyes like his father, or the innocent child just born who smiles when he sees his mother. If you do not choose, then all of the children will go hungry and slowly starve. Imagine your parents being put in this horrendous position, abandoning one of your siblings to the cold, dank orphanages. Or worse, think about how it would feel to be the short straw, one chosen by your parents to abandon, alone at an orphanage where people see you as another body. This situation is what families went through during the 1966 population policy enacted by the ruthless dictator Nicolae Ceausescu.

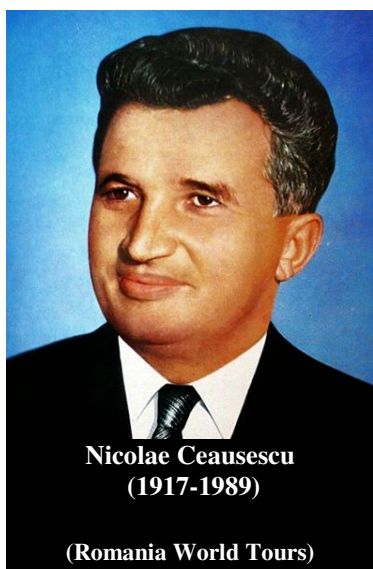
Now if you have a younger sibling, imagine them to cease to exist. They would never experience the first day of kindergarten, their first kiss, or the joy of starting a family of their own. They wouldn't experience this, not because they were not wanted, or loved, but because the One Child Policy of China made their parents decide not to have the second child for fear of breaking that law.

I chose to study Romania and China because they are both large countries that each had extremist population policies enacted. It is especially important to compare these two countries because the policies enacted were opposites of each other. Romania sought to increase population, while China sought to lower it. Romania's policy lasted less than a decade, and when compared to China's present policy, it could show the difference between long term effects as opposed to short term effects. Romania and

China are not the only places that have sought to control the size of a family. As population increases exponentially, and the world becomes more globalized, countries search for a way for economic stability and power in the international world. This research will look closely at these policies, detailing the effects they have on the citizenry of the countries.

Background and Context for Romanian Policy of 1966

In the mid-1900 Romania was ruled by an iron-willed dictator named Nicolae Ceausescu.¹ This dictator was known for his paranoia and love for social experiments. In



response to his fear of the powerful Soviet Union, the dictator decided to enact a plan that would hopefully boost the economy and provide a large standing army through the drastic population increase. To do this, he passed the Policy of 1966. This policy had three major priorities. First, it cut off all importation of birth control. Second, it made all abortions illegal, and third, it taxed women who had less than five children.² The economy of Romania was not

prepared for Ceausescu's new economical experiment, and neither were the orphanages that ran on small amounts of federal funding. Ceausescu never received his army of orphans; instead this extraordinary increase in population had drastic consequences. Struggling families did not have the financial stability to care for their government-

¹ For more information on the History of Romania and this policy please read: *The Politics of Duplicity: Controlling Reproduction in Ceausescu's Romania* By Gail Kligman, *The Man They Killed on Christmas Day (Romania Explained To My Friends Abroad)* by Gruia, Catalin, and *Red Horizons: The True Story of Nicolae and Elena Ceausescus' Crimes, Lifestyle, and Corruption*.

² Morrison, Lynn. "Ceausescu's Legacy: Family Struggles and Institutionalization of Children in Romania." *Journal of Family History* 29.2 (2004): 168-182. Print.

imposed larger families, and were forced to abandon them. These orphanages did not have the resources to care for such a huge wave of unexpected children, and were unable to properly feed, house, and care for them. Even after his execution in 1989, remnants of the policy still persist today. In 2004, about 4,000 children were abandoned in maternity hospitals and about 5,000 children were abandoned in other Hospitals or pediatric wards.³

If these children do not find homes in the dank, poverty stricken orphanages, then they find homes on the street as children begging for food on street corners, hoping to collect enough change to get them through tomorrow. They are born into this life, toddlers crawling over demolished buildings

Figure 1. In 1990 Pictures from Romania were uncovered and shocked the world by showing the destructive treatment of the orphans.



barefoot, while trying to avoid the glass, nails, and splinters as they make their way to their sibling's make-shift shelter. They become thirteen year old children, living in the tunnels that run under Romania, drowning their fears and sadness by breathing in the dangerous fumes of glue solvents.

Background and Context of China's Family Planning Policy

On the opposite end of the spectrum, while a toddler walks across the rusted nail embedded wood to his hovel, a young Chinese child is living a wonderful life. He has those parents who care and provide for him. He has toys to play with, socks on his feet, and his favorite food in his stomach. What he doesn't have is an older sister. This is because unlike her doted upon brother, she was never given a chance to live, and was

³ Lozinski, Vladimir. (2006), Ending Child Abandonment in Romania. UNICEF. Web. n.p. January 21, 2013.

aborted on bases of her gender so that her parents could have the “Little Emperor” they always wanted.

A few decades before Romania, China was put in the same situation of increasing population. After taking power in 1949, Mao



Figure 2. One of China's “Little Emperors” The single child that is thought to inherit all the greatness that would be split between siblings (Gulf News).

Zedong declared, “of all things in the world, people are most precious” .⁴He believed that

Figure 3. An example of the propaganda seen for China's One Child Policy (Facts and Details).



birth control was a capitalist plot to weaken the country. More people meant that China would be better protected, and because of his leadership as well as the improvement of maternal and child health, population doubled.⁵ Even now, China represents 17% of the world's population.⁶ Three years after his death, the One Child Policy was introduced. It only covered about 35% of China and it's mostly limited to the urban area and sometimes, if the first child is a girl, after five years they can have another child.⁷ In 1970, the average Chinese woman had about six

children, while now she has about two. In urban areas, over 90% of children have no siblings, and across the country couples who only have one child are given benefits by

⁴ Hays, Jeffrey . "One-Child Policy in China." Facts and Details. N.p., 23 May 2008. Web. 18 Apr. 2013. <factsanddetails.com/china.php?itemid=128>.

⁵ Hays, Jeffrey.

⁶ Hays, Jeffrey.

⁷ For more information about China's History and the One child Policy, please read: Forgotten Voices of Mao's Great Famine, 1958-1962: An Oral History by Zhou, Xun, China's "One Child": Policy, Population, Pollution, Protest by Edward "Ted" Pohlman Ph.D., and Only Hope: Coming of Age Under China's One-Child Policy by Vanessa Fong.

the government: a “one-child certificate” that entitles them to cash bonuses, longer maternity leave, better child care, and preferred housing assignments.⁸ One Chinese official stated that the One-Child Policy has prevented about 300 million births, approximately half the population of Europe. Slogans like “Have Fewer Children Live Better Lives” and even for a while, “One More Baby Means One More Tomb” can be seen propagandizing the one child policy.⁹ It is believed that an only child will be a better quality person than children with siblings, and these children that have been born are considered more precious, and are referred to as “Little Emperors”.¹⁰ Having more than one child is considered to go against society and nationalistic tendencies, while giving up benefits and making families vulnerable to discrimination.

In both of these situations, fertility control was proclaimed to be the right of the state, not the right of women or families. In Romania this made women into baby producing machines and in China the enacted mandatory family planning, forcing its will over its citizenry. Since the problem has been introduced, and context has created a foundation, this paper will proceed with research found from previous studies about this topic. At the end, goals for this paper will be addressed, and it will move away from previously reached material and focus on the information gathered through this current study. A discussion will clarify the information gathered, while a bibliography and appendix will provide extra source information, including the interview summaries.

⁸ Hays, Jeffrey

⁹ Hays, Jeffrey

¹⁰ Xuefeng, Chen. "The Social Impact of China's One-Child Policy." Harvard Asia Pacific Review n.a. (2003): n. pag. www.hcs.harvard.edu/. Web. 17 Apr. 2013.

Goals and Research Design

Through surveys, interviews, and the case studies I will answer several questions that show the effects governmental population policy has on its citizens, as well as the extent of these effects. First, I will look at the different reasons population policies are put in place, to give the reader a firm foundation on which to apply the information that follows. Second, I will show if the Governmental Policy on population control alters the physical and emotional wellbeing of its citizens. Third, I will detail the effects of population policy is seen in the generations following its passing, commutating on present-day effects, and the likelihood of these effects being interwoven into the culture. Finally, I will compare China with Romania to see if the effects were different based on the characteristics of policy with Romania increasing population and China decreasing population.

To find the answers to my research questions, I will be doing qualitative research



Figure 4. Other group members and I with some of the amazing Romanian children we met while working with Kidz Romania in 2013.

through interviews, surveys, observational studies, and the case studies of Romania and China as built from the research of previous studies on related topics. I believe this is the best way to approach this topic because I am getting a closer look to the inner workings of present day Romania. That said, because of a lack of available participants, my research is weighted slightly towards Romania over

China. As I have had the opportunity to visit Romania, I have written down my own impressions as well as taken photographs.

I have surveyed the individuals I came in contact while there, although the return rate on these surveys have left the survey results inconclusive. I have conducted interviews with multiple experts in the field of modern Romania. Two of my interviewees are women working in two different community organizations: Touched Romania and Kidz Romania. These women work closely with the institutionalized children and with the impoverished families of Romania. I have also interviewed Oxford professor Dr. Bill Prevette, who did his dissertation on the religious organizations success on helping the institutionalized children. All three of these people have lived extensively in Romania. I have also interviewed Dr. Asal Johnson, a Global Health professor at Georgia Southern University.

Literature Review

Policy effects on the Mental Health of Children in Romania

The world was shocked in the early 1990s when photographs and videos were released that uncovered the terrible state that the orphans in Romania were in. One *New York Times* article described their environment as being desensitized, mentality debilitating, and cruel, citing one child whose hands were bound to his bed as an example.¹¹ Because there was a tight hold on foreign adoptions, the number of children simply increased. One researcher noted that as long as a parent saw their abandoned child once a year, that child was legally not considered adoptable.¹² The children that weren't

¹¹Szalavitz, Maia. "Measure of a Mother's Love: How Early Neglect Derails Child Development." time 24 May 2012: 1. www.healthland.time.com. Web. 19 Apr. 2013.

¹²Sullivan, Meghan. "For Romania's Orphans, Adoption is Still a Rarity." National Public Radio [New York] 19 Aug. 2012: 1-4. www.npr.org. Web. 20 Apr. 2012.

living in orphanages lived in underground tunnels where substance abuse was common, even among the under sixteen age group.¹³

Policy effects on the Physical Health of Children in Romania

One study showed that the early 2000s environment, though much improved from the 90s, could still have negative developmental effects on the child. More than that, an unforeseen consequence of this policy was that AIDS among children had seen an increase since the policy and has become a large problem.¹⁴ In 1990, 706 out of 2,0084 children tested were HIV positive due to poorly screened blood transfusions and unsafe heterosexual sex, and this number had been high since a few years after the policy's enactment.¹⁵ It still remains a big problem in Romania during the early 2000s, contributing to other nutrition and environment driven health problems.¹⁶

Policy effects on Birth Control in Romania

In 1966, Romania shifted drastically from having one of the most liberal opinions about abortion, to those among the most conservative policy it could have.¹⁷ Furthermore in Romania, the years of propaganda against contraceptives, the opposite of China, has effected how it is portrayed in schools. The Ministry of Education, unlike the Ministry of Health, has not been receptive to proposals that would like to introduce sex- education into schools.¹⁸ A study in 1990 recalls that when the women were interviewed, they often mentioned that their husbands would object to contraceptives. For those who become

¹³ Branson, Louise. "Children of the Tunnels." *World* 106.1 (1993): 29-30. Print.

¹⁴ Kligman, Gail. "Abortion and International Adoption in Post-Ceausescu Romania." *Feminist Studies* 18.2 (1992): 405-419. Print.

¹⁵ Stefan-Iorga, Isabela, and Shawna Tepleton. "In Romania, a Generation of Children under Threat of Getting HIV from their Mother." *World Vision* [New York] 10 Sept. 2010: 1-2. www.worldvision.org. Web. 18 Apr. 2002.

¹⁶ Stefan-Iorga, Isabela, and Shawna Tepleton.

¹⁷ Mitrut, Andreea. *The Impact of Legalized Abortion On Child Health Outcomes and Abandonment: Evidence From Romania.* (1219-1231) Göteborg : Dep. of Economics, Göteborg Univ, 2011.

¹⁸ Kigman, Gail.

pregnant, abortion remains the basic contraceptive option.¹⁹ The repeal of the policy was followed by an instant and dramatic fall in the birth rate. (Mitrut, 1221). In 1990, Romania reached the highest rate of induced abortion in the world: 200 per 1000 women, a number seven times higher than the US. While China dealt with its large population with a policy, the Romanian population was given no sex-education and turned to an easy method of controlling the pregnancies through abortion (Mitrut, 1221).

Balancing China's Population Disparities

Like Romania, China's population policy was ingrained into the culture. One study found that families preferred to have one, or at most, two children, despite the continuation of the policy or not. This means that the policy was working, but it may have been working too well.²⁰ At some point, the population may decrease below replacement value to the extent that the policy will need to be halted. Once that time comes, the one-child movement may still continue as a separate entity from the government.

Another study showed that the population decreasing is already having supreme consequences because population is no longer evenly distributed among different age groups. This brings about the 4:2:1 ratio.²¹ One child will eventually be expected to care for and support four grandparents. In 2006 there were six adults of working age for each retiree, but by 2040, that ratio will drop to become two adults for every one retiree, and

¹⁹ Kigman, Gail

²⁰ Hesketh, Therese, Li Lu, and Zhu Xing. "The Effect of China's One-Child Family Policy after 25 Years." *N Engl J Med* 353.11 (2005): 1171-1176. Print.

²¹ Hesketh, Therese, Li Lu, and Zhu Xing.

then drop again.²² Economically speaking, this is very poorly structured, and analysts fear that with a smaller younger generation, China's elderly people will suffer neglect.

The Effect Population Policies have on the Rights of Women

Population policy had also shown a tendency to decrease the power that women have in society. For Romania, Women were forced to be baby producing machines, and this caused a lack of empowerment for women in the past causing more of them participate in prostitution and other illicit activity.²³ The relational patterns observed in mothers' current relationships with their own mothers are recreated in their relationships with their infants.²⁴ Married women with children often work as prostitutes with full consent of their husbands as a way to increase their cash flow.²⁵ Soon after it went into effect, critics of the one child policy noted its negative consequences, particularly the discrimination seen based on race. Parental sex screening was banned in 1994, but before that many women aborted the embryos once they realized they were female.²⁶ Furthermore, there were many cases of female infanticide found in some areas, or less aggressive treatment of sick female infants.²⁷ In China, the culture is very patriarchal, so that families want a male child over a female child, and this causes a very large disproportionate rift between the two genders. Even with allowing some parents to have a second child if the first is female, there are thirty-two million more boys than girls under the age of twenty.²⁸ In all, governmental control of population has been shown to shape

²² Hesketh, Therese, Li Lu, and Zhu Xing.

²³ Kligman, Gail.

²⁴ Kretchmar, M. D. and Jacobvitz, D. B. (2002), Observing Mother-Child Relationships Across Generations: Boundary Patterns, Attachment, and the Transmission of Caregiving. *Family Process*, 41: 351–374.

²⁵ Kligman, Gail.

²⁶ Fitzpatrick, Laura. "A Brief History of China's One-Child Policy." time 27 July 2009: 2. www.time.com. Web. 19 Apr. 2013.

²⁷ Hesketh, Therese, Li Lu, and Zhu Xing.

²⁸ Fitzpatrick, Laura.

culture and the perception of family while also causing changes in the physical and mental health of those lives it controls.

Population Policies can Result in Violence

Because of the marginalization of women and the absolution of laws, many violent incidents have been bred from these population policies. With the One Child Policy in China, the strict limits of the procreation law have in the past led to forced abortions and serializations, even though these measures were consider illegal then as now. For the couples who break the rules, large fines are attached and they can even face the seizure of property and the loss of their jobs.²⁹ According to reports, unmarried people have been persuaded to postpone marriage; couples with no children were advised to wait their turn by the National Population and Family Planning Commission that runs the one child policy. Women that did not obtain the permit that is necessary to legal have a child were pressured to have abortions, and those who were pregnant with a second child were pushed to undergo sterilization.³⁰

According to past research, the Decree of 770 in Romania still showed lasting effects as women were seen as second class citizens. The patriarchal society accepted wife beating as culturally accepted and women who remarried with children were often compelled to abandon them. One reporter wrote “The young mother, deserted by her lover, was barred from returning to her father’s house until she gave up the baby”.³¹ Another woman stated, “They (her family) tell me to throw my children to the bin. I live only for my children. I cannot do that. “She adds, “They see me and my baby

²⁹ Fitzpatrick, Laura.

³⁰ Olesen, Alexa. (2012). China One- Child Policy: Government Think Tank Urges Country’s Leaders to Start Phasing out Policy Immediately. Huffington Post. Web. N.p. 13 January. 2013

³¹ Kligman, Gail.

as a burden.” Her family pressured her to abandon her child at the hospital.³² Romanian families indicated high levels of psychological and social distressed and the lack of control over their family. These depression symptoms, when seen in mothers, play a key role in the quality of mother-child interactions.³³ In both of these countries, the family planning policies have caused violent situations in the past, and women were pressured into abandoning or aborting their children, which were situations that they did not wish to partake in.

China's Modern Attempt to Equalize One Child Policy's Consequences



Figure 5. New propaganda that is attempting to lessen the gender disparity, translating to “In the new era, women and men are equally good. Women can help protect against old age” (The Atlantic Newspaper)

Although there is was obvious disparity between the genders in China, a recent study shows that this may be changing. In the National Family Planning and Reproductive Health Survey, 37% of women (mostly urban and young) said that they had no preference when it came to the gender of their baby, whereas 45% of women said the ideal family contained both a boy and a girl. Furthermore, slightly more women, 5.6% expressed a preference for one girl one boy.³⁴ Although this has not been shown to have

³² Kligman, Gail.

³³ Robila, Mihaela, and Ambika Krishnakumar. "The Impact Of Maternal Depression And Parenting Behaviors On Adolescents' Psychological Functioning In Romania." *Journal Of Child & Family Studies* 15.1 (2006): 70-81. Sociological Collection. Web. 3 January. 2013.

³⁴ Hesketh, Therese, Li Lu, and Zhu Xing. "The Effect of China's One-Child Family Policy after 25 Years." *N Engl J Med* 353.11 (2005): 1171-1176. Print.

an effect over population rates, it might prove to influence the disparity in the future. Despite its exceptions, The One Child Policy still has large effects on society as a whole (Hays, 3).

All of these studies give interesting information on how these policies effect the generations following these polices, but the international world and the inner workings of states can change quickly with each passing generation. Because of this, the studies given could potentially be outdated. Romania joined the European Union in 2007. EU guidelines for child health have forced them to change their institutionalization procedures. Currently, China has begun to relax on the inflexible aspects of the One Child Policy, and many are undecided about what that could mean for the decreasing population. My overarching goal is to decide whether the Population Policy of 1966 effects this present generation of younger people, and decide if the Chinese will continue having small families even after the One Child Policy is relaxed.

Results of Research

While interviewing Dr. Asal Mohamadi Johnson, she discussed several different reasons why governments would see it necessary to put population policies in place, citing political power, economic allocation or improvement, and ideological beliefs as the main reasons for these policies. In the context of Romania and China, research will be focused on the first two reasons. Throughout this research I discovered how the Proclamation of 1966 pressured the relationship between the mother and child to the breaking point, as well as the influence it had on the way society viewed the women. I will also show joining the EU acted as a catalyst for many changes in the child welfare system, and how a different type of abandonment is now determining the fate of children.

The abandoned children are stuck in a cycle, but this cycle is slowly showing signs of disintegrating as family size grow smaller.

Political Power as a Reason for Population Control

Looking through my interviews, it became inarguably clear that the major reason for Romania's Proclamation of 1966 is because of Ceaușescu's quest for power in Europe. As seen with China, an increase in population gives more power in international negotiation. The higher the population, the more imposing the state, and the more leverage the government has; Ceausescu's regimen was particularly controlling.³⁵ While I was in Romania, I saw that the city of Bucharest was littered with imposing concrete buildings. These were made after villages were bulldozed to de-unify people loyal to each other and more easily watch for spies, and every phone was tapped.³⁶ This control went beyond the makeup of the city, because when the children were abandoned, they were placed in even more concrete blocks, and were manipulated to see the dictator and his wife as parental figures, stepping in to fill the role that their own biological parents had left (Cunningham, Interview). Ceausescu wanted to create a new type of child that was solely loyal to the state. As Dr. Bill Prevette stated it was the idea that "You give us the boy, we will give you the man".³⁷ This new generation, Ceausescu hoped, would loyally depend on the state, not family, and work for the state as a part of a security apparatus with the *securitate*, as a type of domestic spy.³⁸

³⁵ Johnson, Asal Mohamadi, Dr. "Population Policies in Romania and China". February 17, 2014. Person. see Appendix.

³⁶ Cunningham, Jan. "Population Policies in Romania and China". May 29, 2013. Person. See Appendix.

³⁷ Prevette, Bill, Dr. "Population Policies in Romania and China". February 24, 2014. Internet. See Appendix.

³⁸ Prevette, Bill, Dr. See Appendix for Interview Transcript.

Ceausescu's experiment failed. Although the children revered him as a father figure, the concrete orphanages they were placed in were too financially unstable to meet their nutritional needs. The influx of children would not grow up with love. In the end, this crippled the workforce. "Even though you had the people, mentally," Ellena Munguia stated in an interview, "Half of the people could not work because of the



Figure 6. An example of the Concrete Apartment Buildings in Bucharest, Romania that were used to divide the citizenry (Bogdanovici).

experiences that they had".³⁹ Through the lack nutrients and care needed for development, as well as the mental manipulations placed on them in order to insure their loyalty to the communist state, this policy affected the mental health of the children put into these institutions.

Economic Stability as a Reason for Population Control

China and Romania both put in place these population laws to affect the economy of their country. Romania wanted a more robust industrialized economy, while China saw an integral need to limit population as a response to dwindling resources. Both of these policies had unforeseen effects, but unlike Romania, China's population policy acts as an important strategy to insure every citizen has a higher standard of living. Romania's dictator wanted to develop a large working class, and there was a strong military need for

³⁹ Munguia, Ellena. "Population Policies in Romania and China". February 26, 2014. Internet. See Appendix.

state spies known as the “*securitate*”.⁴⁰ Before the industrial age came to Romania, large families were needed to complete tasks in agriculture intensive areas in order for the family to be financially stable, but as time went on, large families were no longer needed. According to Ellena Munguia, who has lived in Romania for over a decade, Ceausescu put the population policy in place because by 2020 he wanted to be the fourth largest European country and wanted to build a powerful workforce that could stand in opposition to the Soviet Union if needed.⁴¹ Industrializing country starts with the need for labor intensive work. The State Policy of 1966 came at a time when women were deciding that they no longer needed to have large families to work farms, and the neonatal death rate was down insuring more children would survive to adulthood. The policy was Ceausescu’s way of counteracting this modern idea by forcing women to have children that would one day work as laborers in factories for the “New Romania” that he was creating, instead of aborting them or using birth control.⁴²

Under communism, intellectual people and artists were placed at the bottom of the hierarchy. Industrial people were revered because of the new set of priorities in Romania. People were not promoted for job quality, but for their loyalty to the regimen. Jan Cunningham, founder of Kidz Romania, told how her language teacher, was considered a parasite while she worked as ballerina.⁴³ Women were seen solely as laborers until they bore five children, then they were seen as heroes of the state. The children that were not mentally developed sufficiently to be a part of the military force or

⁴⁰ Ellena, Munguia. See Appendix for Interview Transcript.

⁴¹ Ellena, Munguia. See Appendix for Interview Transcript.

⁴² Prevette, Bill, Dr. See Appendix for Interview Transcript.

⁴³ Cunningham, Jan. See Appendix for Interview Transcript.

spy system became laborers.⁴⁴ Children who showed blatant physical disabilities were sent to special orphanages where medical care was not offered, because they could not contribute to the idea of “New Romania”.⁴⁵ The idea was that these new loyal children would either contribute to the military power of Romania by being an “Army of Orphans” or they would propel Romania through the economy, but the environment of the children insured that neither of these possibilities would be come to pass.

The allocation of resources is the most logical reason for population control, and this is the reason that many of these policies may be instituted in the future. As seen within the Literature Review, China needed a way to counteract the substantial population growth under Mao Zedong, because they had a limited means to care for the people. Dr. Johnson stated “Like with China, right now their population is 1.4 billion. They are still above where they want to be, but without that policy they wouldn’t have been able to provide”.⁴⁶ Ceausescu had looked at population from this perspective, then the decision to institute the policy would have been different. According to Dr. Johnson, the subject of population studies is very complex. Wise governments react and plan for the populations projections for the next twenty or thirty years to insure that by the time the new born generation becomes twenty, they will have a sufficient job market to choose from, while also trying to balance the aging population to insure the younger generation will be able tolerate the strain of seniors.⁴⁷ Sometimes the government decides that because the future unemployment rate will increase, there are only sufficient opportunities for a limited amount of people, and has no choice but to limit population or

⁴⁴ Prevette, Bill, Dr.

⁴⁵ Munguia, Ellena.

⁴⁶ Johnson, Asal, Dr.

⁴⁷ Johnson, Asal, Dr.

risk bringing down the overall standard of living for that generation. Unemployment is an important issue, and so is land. China saw that the land was limited, and as a socialist country, they acted to plan for the future. Dr. Johnson then stated “I don’t think the earth can support seven billion people. If you look at the Earth and seven billion people is too much of a burden, and so countries should follow family planning.”⁴⁸ With a limited amount of land, family planning is a successful strategy that insures there are enough resources for all citizens. In the case of increasing population when the population is overly top-heavy (as in Japan), instead of raising fertility rates, migration would be a better response because it takes highly densely populated areas and disperses them more evenly.⁴⁹

The Effect of the 1966 Policy on the Relationship between Mothers and their Children

Every form of research that I conducted substantially established the relationship between mothers and children during the span of time the policy was in place. Dr. Bill, Oxford professor and author of *Child, Church and Compassion: Towards Child Theology in Romania* stated “The problem was never that Romanian families didn’t love their children. Mothers under communism were still moms. I didn’t find a lot of evidence that said that they didn’t.”⁵⁰ For the most part, mothers during this time loved their children as much as any mothers could. They wanted what was best for their children, wanted their children to be successful in life. The problem wasn’t their lack of love; it was that they could not provide for their children.⁵¹ These children were not abandoned but given a better life, at least in their mother’s eyes.

⁴⁸ Johnson, Asal, Dr.

⁴⁹ Johnson, Asal, Dr.

⁵⁰ Prevette, Bill, Dr.

⁵¹ Cunningham, Jan.

The most influential part of the policy was that birth control could not be found; they had to have the children. Jan Cunningham elaborated, “You were told you had to have kids, but you weren’t given enough to feed them, in later years, only powdered milk was given out.”⁵² With so many children, the parents could no longer feed them, and gave into the pressure of the state to institutionalize them. Often, the parents were forced to choose which children were put into the orphanages. Because some mothers did not want to fully surrender the children, sometimes the family would rotate which children were institutionalized as a desperate attempt to keep the family somewhat cohesive.⁵³ The parents did not realize how detrimental these policies would be to their children. They were trying to help their kids and give them a good life. They thought the government would care for them. They trusted the communist government to provide their children with jobs one day, and thought that the life their children would have through the institutions would be better than what the impoverished parents could give.⁵⁴ The mothers loved their children, and giving up these children was a desperate attempt to provide them with a bright future untainted by poverty.

The Policy of 1966, Women, and Birth Control

For population policies that decrease the number of children born, there is an importance connected to birth control, and this idea is validated by the current situation in China. By taking away a woman’s right to birth control while simultaneously making abortions illegal, the government of Romania made women into child bearing machines. For up to five years after the dictator’s death, pregnant women were rarely seen, like a

⁵² Cunningham, Jan.

⁵³ Cunningham, Jan.

⁵⁴ Prevette, Bill, Dr.

pendulum swing. This was especially evident in the larger cities.⁵⁵ After going so long without any form of contraception or abortion options, women were actively insuring that they would not be pregnant, but with an interesting aspect. Instead of using preemptive methods of birth control, they instead used abortions as a birth control method.

By changing the way birth control was preserved and categorizing it with abortion, when the policy was dissolved, the ideas were still connected. For women, contraceptive methods like condoms imply promiscuity. In many marriages in developing countries, if a wife wants to use condoms, her husband is automatically inclined to think that she is committing infidelity. They don't see it as simply a way not to become pregnant, there is a social stigma attached. On top of this, women perceive birth control pills as something that will make them gain weight quickly.⁵⁶ Because these methods of birth control are unappealing to women, and because abortion was de-stigmatized and put in the same category as birth control, Romania has the highest count of abortions by a good portion.⁵⁷ Dr. Bill Prevette stated when I interviewed him, "Laws need to be written to protect and safeguard women, simply because without them, our society won't survive."⁵⁸ The policy of 1966 was not made to protect and safeguard women, and as a result, women's relationship between contraception and abortion was damaged.

The European Union's Improvements to Child Institutions

Joining the European Union in 2007 was a catalyst that improved and changed forever the way abandoned children were institutionalized. In order to join, certain welfare requirements must be met, and in this way the EU is helping to improve

⁵⁵ Cunningham, Jan.

⁵⁶ Johnson, Asal, Dr.

⁵⁷ Hord, C, et al. "Reproductive Health In Romania: Reversing The Ceausescu Legacy." *Studies In Family Planning* 22.4 (1991): 231-240. MEDLINE. Web. 24 March 2014.

⁵⁸ Prevette, Bill, Dr.

orphanage quality.⁵⁹ They are attempting to move from institutions to a more family based system. Children under the age of two are not supposed to be allowed in the institutions. Instead, orphaned children are moved into group homes usually with nine other children, and raised there where they can receive adequate nurture.⁶⁰ It is a new system, however, and there are still issues that are being fixed. There are not as many laws to protect children as there are in the US, for example. There are not enough foster families as of now, and many institutions still run.⁶¹ There are still shortcomings in understanding different mental health issues such as autism, but the child welfare system of Romania is drastically different from those systems that shocked the world in the early 1990s.⁶²

Reasons for Modern Child Abandonment in Romania

While child abandonment is not as rampant as it was in the early 1990s, it remains a problem as children are still being left weekly in hospitals. However, the reason for this abandonment is no longer that families are forced to have too many children; it is the mothers' socio economic stance that is the origin of the detrimental problem. They are fused into poverty, living in low income areas.⁶³ These mothers are uneducated, and are encouraged to abandon their children, told by family members that the state could do a better job than they could. For the women who still want to keep their children, there is very little governmental assistance, especially in the major cities.⁶⁴ Of course, the usual reasons of alcoholism and drug use are also seen in Romania. Many abandoned children

⁵⁹ Cunningham, Jan.

⁶⁰ Munguia, Ellena.

⁶¹ Munguia, Ellena.

⁶² Prevette, Bill, Dr.

⁶³ Munguia, Ellena.

⁶⁴ Munguia, Ellena.

are a part of the Roma population, born because their begging mothers do not have the money to pay for birth control.⁶⁵

The New Type of Abandonment Seen in Romania: Economic Orphans

The belief that the state will take care of these children is still evident in Romanian culture, even if it is less expressive today. The idea that “ I survived, why not my child?”⁶⁶ causes the poverty stricken households to surrender their children, leaving them abandoned at hospitals, but, like Dr. Bill Prevette stated, “These people still have the idea that the state will take care of these kids, but in reality the state doesn’t do that very well anymore, if it ever did.”⁶⁷ The children that are left in these institutions, or who are put into group homes that have been corrupted are neglected or abused, and end up as a part of a street gang, using drugs and contributing to internet schemes.⁶⁸ Thankfully, now with the new changes to the welfare state, these stories are becoming rare.

Child abandonment has changed from what it was; children are now considered economic orphans. Under communism, every person was insured a job, but that stability is no longer a part of modern Romanian life. There isn’t the government forced production of children, because as a capitalist country Romania acts under a free market, but “there’s nothing free about the free market”, and with the unemployment rate high in Romania, the fathers have to migrate to find jobs in the rest of the EU, leaving the mothers to also find a source of employment .⁶⁹ As Dr. Prevette pointed out, “this is the reason that so many girls leave Romania, Moldova, Bulgaria, that leave to work as prostitutes in Western Europe to provide for their kids”. They are then tricked by the sex

⁶⁵ Prevette, Bill, Dr.

⁶⁶ Cunningham, Jan.

⁶⁷ Prevette, Bill, Dr.

⁶⁸ Prevette, Bill, Dr.

⁶⁹ Prevette, Bill, Dr.

traffickers, being forced into the modern slave trade and never returning to their children. The pressure to raise money to support the children is intense, and it causes the parents to leave the children with a relative, usually a grandparent, in order to find a career.⁷⁰ If no relative is available, the children are put into the welfare system.

The Choice in Family Size Creates a Trend to Smaller Families

One effect of the 1966 population policy is no longer influencing families; the generation of twenty year olds no longer strives for large families. According to the surveys sent out to native Romanians, all of the college age individuals want two or three children, unlike their parents or grandparents. People in Romania are also waiting longer to have children, until they can provide for their children or have sturdy careers made. Living costs are expensive, and there are fewer people willing to spend the money necessary to provide for several children. Women, now becoming a larger part of the work force, are choosing to wait until they have a secure job before they have children, and have fewer children because of the stress it puts on their careers.⁷¹ In Romania, family size is usually limited to two or three children, and while that is still large for families in Europe, to Romanians, it is much smaller than it has been since the population policy.⁷²

The Romanian couples that do have large families choose them, and are extremely close knit. Many of the exceptions to the trend of smaller family sizes in Romania are those that belong to the Pentecostal church.⁷³ This religious sect believes that

⁷⁰ Prevette, Bill, Dr.

⁷¹ Johnson, Asal, Dr.

⁷² Prevette, Bill, Dr.

⁷³ Munguia, Ellena.

contraception is strictly forbidden by God, as he is responsible for pregnancy rates.⁷⁴ The International church I visited while I was in Romania had many large families because of this reason, and these families are genuinely concerned for their children, and care for each one deeply.

Single Child Status Causes Stress for Chinese Children

New research shows that perhaps being a “Little Emperor” is not as deeply gratifying for the single children of China as previously thought. During her interview, Dr. Johnson recommended for me to read *Psychology Today*’s “Plight of the Little Emperors” and it shows that these only children are displaying signs of increased stress, depression and suicide rates.⁷⁵ The plan may have been to lower population, but to the parents, the greater purpose of the policy was to create a group of young elites. This elite force would be a generation of high-quality children that would promote China as a global power. The parents insure this because they are with the child always, making sure that the child is focused and on task and school, and doing homework during the night.⁷⁶ Dr. Johnson explains this situation by speaking about the stress of carrying on the family name. If several children are born into a family, then there are more chances for one of the children to be successful.⁷⁷ The oldest may not be, but there is still hope for the younger one to become an important member of society and rich enough to one day care for his aging parents. Without this fallback plan however, all of the pressure is placed onto the shoulders of a child, and this creates a health crisis in the young generation of China.

⁷⁴ Prevette, Bill, Dr.

⁷⁵ “Plight of Little Emperors.” Hirschberg, Stuart, and Terry Hirschberg. *Psychology Today*. 2012. One World, Many Cultures. 8th ed. Boston: Pearson. Pp. 42-48

⁷⁶ “Plight of Little Emperors.” One World, Many Cultures.

⁷⁷ Johnson, Asal, Dr.

The Adaptive Inclination of Culture

Culture is adaptive, when faced with obstacles; it acclimates and changes in order to survive. As Dr. Johnson told me in an interview, “One thing we understand about culture is that it can adapt to a change. And after these adaptations are made, they continue. When you get to that point it stays”.⁷⁸ This inclination of culture is seen in how both Romania and China have changed. In China, decades after the One Child Policy, people now prefer a small family size, even if the policy was not in place. These adaptations can also cause cycles; the children that are abandoned in Romania and put into group homes or institutionalized are much more likely to in turn give up their own children to the state. “The number has slowed down” Says Jan Cunningham, “but it will take three or four generations”.⁷⁹ This occurs because the children that are abandoned are from lower income and uneducated families.⁸⁰ Once they leave the orphanages, they are usually caught in the same socio-economic zone as their parents. And without the education or means to escape, their own children are put in the same position. This cycle repeats, and abandoned children grow up feeling unloved and do not know how to form important personal relationships. They still suffer from the psychological effects of abandonment, and this causes many of them to become a less than ideal parent.⁸¹ Dr. Prevette grew up in a US institution for children, and he saw these effects first hand. It takes a special type of person to break this cycle and overcome these factors and become a worthwhile parent, but he knows many people that have succeeded in overcoming these barriers.

⁷⁸ Johnson, Asal, Dr.

⁷⁹ Cunningham, Jan.

⁸⁰ Munguia, Ellena.

⁸¹ Prevette, Bill, Dr.

Conclusion

Population policies are put in place in different ways depending on the goals of government. Economic limitations, the need for political power, and religious ideas found in government effect whether the policies will serve to increase or decrease these populations. In Romania, effects are still seen. To those mothers still entrenched by their low socio-economic status, and to the children still caught in the flawed welfare system, the policy still show sign of affecting their physical and emotional wellbeing. Children are not always given the care necessary to develop mentally and are never given the opportunity to learn how to create meaningful personal relationships, and adhere to the incorrect believe that their children will be fine when put into the same state run system. For China, the stress of having the family success solely on them is causing a spike in mental health concerns. Although with the help of the European Union, these effects are now seen much less often than in the past, they are still evident in poverty stricken areas of cities that have little aid to assist the struggling mothers. The effects of population policies are different for both China and Romania, except for the trend of family size. In China the policy is being ingrained in culture as the society adapts to the policy. Families now want smaller sizes. In Romanian it is in direct opposition to what the policy originally intended, and for the most part, the economic expenses of rising a large family has served to counteract the large family ideal that was upheld through the regimen of Ceausescu.

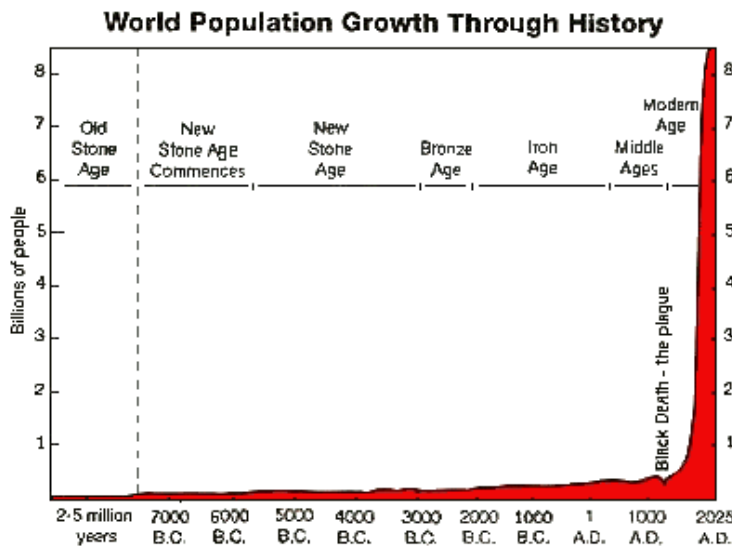


Figure 7. A graph showing exponential population growth (susps).

In a day and age where population is increasing every minute of the day with a growth rate of 18,000,000 people so far this year, many more of these populations may be enacted by government.⁸² Iran, Japan, Singapore, and Uzbekistan all currently have strong family

planning policies. Iran has seen a population increase in response to the government's search for power.⁸³ Singapore and Uzbekistan seek to limit the consumption of resources by limiting population.⁸⁴ These policies have an effect on the basic way of life for the people in that country; there are even stories of Uzbekistan forcibly sterilizing women.⁸⁵ Governmental policies effect lives every day, but when they get involved with personal family decisions, the results can be filled with disaster. But the world is becoming more crowded, and there will come a time when difficult decisions about population and resources will have to be made, and we need to be able to weigh and avoid the possible consequences of this decision.

⁸² Susps. Population Numbers, Projections, Graphs and Data. www.susps.org. Web.n.p. 24 March 2014

⁸³ Johnson, Asal.

⁸⁴ Cardiosk, Michael. 2009. Singapore's Aging Population: The "Stop at Two" and "Three or More If You Can Afford It" Policies. Yahoo Voices. Web. n.p. 24 March 2014.

⁸⁵ Anteleva, Natalia. 2012. Uzbekistan's Policy of Secretly Sterilizing Women. BBC News. Web. n.p. 24 March. 2014.

With all of the new reforms being enacted in Romania, hopefully the last remnants of the population policy of 1966 will be cleansed from the country. Research needs to follow the generations from both Romania and China to further examine the leftover effects in the future, to see if they have been phased out, and to discover if new long term effects have been recognized. For now however, the people that I met in Romania were some of the kindest, most sincere people that I have ever met. As Dr. Bill Prevette stated, “Romania’s best mind are as bright as you can imagine, they really want to create a Romania that’s good with children”.⁸⁶



Figure 8. A photograph from 2013 with me still in clown makeup playing with adorable children.

⁸⁶ Prevette, Bill, Dr.

Bibliography

- Anteleva, Natalia. 2012. Uzbekistan's Policy of Secretly Sterilizing Women. BBC News. Web. n.p. 24 March. 2014.
- Atlantic, the. China's Colorful Child Planning Propaganda. www.theatlantic.com . Web. n.p. 24 March 2014
- Branson, Louise. "Children of the Tunnels." *World* 106.1 (1993): 29-30. Print.
- BBC News. What Became of Romania's Neglected Orphans? News.bbc.co.uk. Web. n.p. 24 March 2014
- Bogdangiusca. Wikipedia. Communist Romania. Web. n.p. 24 March 2014
- Cardiosk, Michael. 2009. Singapore's Aging Population: The "Stop at Two" and "Three or More If You Can Afford It" Policies. Yahoo Voices. Web. n.p. 24 March 2014.
- Cunningham, Jan. "Population Policies in Romania and China". May 29, 2013. Person.
- Fitzpatrick, Laura. "A Brief History of China's One-Child Policy." *time* 27 July 2009: 2. www.time.com. Web. 19 Apr. 2013.
- Gulf News. The Me Me Me World of China's Little Emperors. gulfnews.com. Web. n.p. 24 March 2014
- Hays, Jeffrey . "One-Child Policy in China." *Facts and Detials*. N.p., 23 May 2008. Web. 18 Apr. 2013. <factsanddetails.com/china.php?itemid=128>.
- Hesketh, Therese, Li Lu, and Zhu Xing. "The Effect of China's One-Child Family Policy after 25 Years." *N Engl J Med* 353.11 (2005): 1171-1176. Print.
- Hord, C, et al. "Reproductive Health In Romania: Reversing The Ceausescu Legacy." *Studies In Family Planning* 22.4 (1991): 231-240. MEDLINE. Web. 24 March 2014.

Johnson, Asal Mohamadi, Dr. "Population Policies in Romania and China". February 17, 2014. Person.

Kligman, Gail. "Abortion and International Adoption in Post-Ceausescu Romania." *Feminist Studies* 18.2 (1992): 405-419. Print.

Kretchmar, M. D. and Jacobvitz, D. B. (2002), Observing Mother-Child Relationships Across Generations: Boundary Patterns, Attachment, and the Transmission of Caregiving. *Family Process*, 41: 351–374.

Lozinski, Vladimir. (2006), Ending Child Abandonment in Romania. UNICEF. Web. n.p. January 21, 2013.

Mitrut, Andreea. The Impact of Legalized Abortion On Child Health Outcomes and Abandonment: Evidence From Romania.(1219-1231) Göteborg : Dep. of Economics, Göteborg Univ, 2011.

Morrison, Lynn. "Ceausescu's Legacy: Family Struggles and Institutionalization of Children in Romania." *Journal of Family History* 29.2 (2004): 168-182. Print.

Munguia, Ellena. "Population Policies in Romania and China". February 26, 2014. Internet.

Olesen, Alexa. (2012). China One- Child Policy: Government Think Tank Urges Country's Leaders to Start Phasing out Policy Immediately. Huffington Post. Web. N.p. 13 January. 2013

"Plight of Little Emperors." Hirschberg, Stuart, and Terry Hirschberg. 2012. One World, Many Cultures. *Psychology Today*. 8th ed. Boston: Pearson. Pp. 42-48

Prevette, Bill, Dr. "Population Policies in Romania and China". February 24, 2014. Internet.

- Robila, Mihaela, and Ambika Krishnakumar. "The Impact of Maternal Depression And Parenting Behaviors On Adolescents' Psychological Functioning In Romania." *Journal Of Child & Family Studies* 15.1 (2006): 70-81. Sociological Collection. Web. 3 January. 2013.
- Romanian Culture Tours. Nicolae Ceasescu. Romanianculturetours.com. Web. n.p. 24 March 2014
- Stefan-Iorga, Isabela, and Shawna Tepleton. "In Romania, a Generation of Children under Threat of Getting HIV from their Mother." *World Vision* [New York] 10 Sept. 2010: 1-2. www.worldvision.org. Web. 18 Apr. 2002.
- Sullivan, Meghan. "For Romania's Orphans, Adoption is Still a Rarity." *National Public Radio* [New York] 19 Aug. 2012: 1-4. www.npr.org. Web. 20 Apr. 2012.
- Susps. Population Numbers, Projections, Graphs and Data. www.susps.org. Web.n.p. 24 March 2014
- Szalavitz, Maia. "Measure of a Mother's Love: How Early Neglect Derails Child Development." *time* 24 May 2012: 1. www.healthland.time.com. Web. 19 Apr. 2013.
- Xuefeng, Chen. "The Social Impact of China's One-Child Policy." *Harvard Asia Pacific Review* n.a. (2003): n. pag. www.hcs.harvard.edu/. Web. 17 Apr. 2013.

Appendix:

Transcription Summary from Interview with Jan Cunningham, Founder of Kidz Romania

The dictator bulldozed the villages to create the concrete blocks and this is what leads to the present-day street dog population. He did it for control, because with the blocks, they could more easily watch for spies. A whole village would be split up, and separated them to de-unify them. The population knew one-fourth of the people where spies, but not which fourth, and this would lead to high amounts of distrust. Five years after the dictator's death, pregnant women were rare. Like a pendulum swing. Especially in the big, large cities.

During communism: the different intellectual people and artists were placed at the bottom of the totem pole. Many were killed because they were seen as potential leaders or threats. I remember my language teacher telling me that she was considered a parasite.

The industrial people were put higher in society because of the new priorities in Romania. People weren't promoted for job quality, instead they were promoted for how well they followed communist ideals. Because of this productivity went down. The women were very industrial during this time of communism. Women were no longer seen as women, they were simply seen as workers. No complaining they accepted it as life.

A large number of orphans not because of lack of parenting but because of the limited food given to families by the dictator. In the later years only powdered milk was given out. "You were told you had to have kids, but you weren't given enough to feed them." If they couldn't feed the kids, the government wanted them to hand them over.

He took the smartest of them to become members of the "secret police", and manipulated them. The dictator and his wife became parental figures. Children that were not very smart became laborers. Children with learning/physical disabilities were sent to special orphanages, and medical care was not allowed. No quality control. The number of abandoned children has slowed down but will take many generations, three or four. Because there is this idea that "I survived, why not my child?",

How they act as adults depends on the age they were put into the orphanage. By the time they are 18 it is hard for organizations to work with the people from the orphanage if they show bad behavior. It has effects for generations because they feel unloved, they do not know how to parent and make relationships, however there are exceptions.

They had to choose which children were put into the orphanages. Some families would rotate children every year or few years. One family gave the child to the orphanage to travel Europe.

Transcription Summary for Ellena Munguia, Former Worker at Touched Romania

First came to Romania in 2000, Over the years it's gotten better for children, they are doing different campaigns to improve child law, and families are getting smaller. There are families here that love their kids and want to provide for them, and then you have other families that children are just objects, (but that's in the US too) In the US there are more laws to protect the children, to protect the families, but in Romania they are still working that out, education for all the children.

It not as bad as it was in the 90s (child abandonment) but it is still a problem, children are still being abandoned weekly in hospitals. The reason why you still have it, is because the mothers giving up the children are from low income areas and are uneducated, and the way the society is they are almost encouraged to abandon the children.

They are told that they couldn't care for their kids that the state could probably take care of them better. That's one reason for abandonment. Another reason is that there is little social assistance available for single mothers, and if they do get it, then it is a very long process before they can use it. There is very little help, even in the major cities.

The most influential part of the policy was the lack of birth control being allowed, that they had to have so many children or be taxed. They couldn't get birth control. The reasons it was put in to place by 2020 he wanted to be the 4th largest Europe country and build his workforce, and needed workers. To provide labor.

Do governments have a right? I want to say no, but understands the situation in some countries, but should leave the responsibility to the family to say that "oh we can afford 2 children" and allow it to be their choice. They shouldn't be told.

The policy did not benefit because you had an influx of people that couldn't be cared for. You had an influx of children who couldn't be cared for, or loved, or made sure their needs were met. I think in the end it crippled the workforce. Even though you had the people, mentally, half of the people could not work because of the experiences that they had.

Does it affect families today? No because we are seeing smaller families today. People are trying to wait to have children, until they can provide with their families. Accept in the Pentecostal church. They don't believe in birth control or family planning as a part of the religion. God gets you pregnant, that it's a blessing. Not as common to find families with seven to ten children in the past.

There is no negative effect because those having larger families want larger families and so it is close knit.

Yes, abandoned children more inclined to repeat same mistakes. But it has to do more with their social standing as the children become parents. They are usually lower income, and uneducated. They don't have the education to escape the circumstances. They get out at 18, but have the mental capacity of a 10 year old and then go and get pregnant. And then repeat

Orphanages are different now because Romania has a law that lets children go into foster care. No child under the age of 2 can be institutionalized, but there are holes in the system. They have found ways to keep the children in institutions because there are not enough families. If they are orphanages kids they move them into group homes but then you still have your state run orphanages. For the most part, you will find people who really try to make the kids' lives better-Not what we saw back in the 90s 80s. There probably still are those places but they are really rare.

It's unique because its 25 years later since the fall of communism and it's still a problem. People got into the idea that "oh the state can take care of my kid, and one day I'll be able to get my kids back". And that cycle is still happening. It's unique in the 90s because of the extreme, of how these children were being treated. And the world had never seen anything to that extent before.

Transcription Summary for Dr. Bill Prevette, Oxford Professor and Author of Child, Church and Compassion

Absolutely a difference in how children are viewed, from the past there are now different. They are more attentive to their children. The problem was never that Romanian families didn't love their children; it was more the state requiring women to work at the time as well as to have kids. They all had to work for the states, in farms or factories and they kept pressuring families to put their children into these institutions. People who I've interviewed thought that the children would get fine care in these institutions, they didn't know how bad off the children were going to be.

Abandonment is very different now -they are economic orphans. They may give their other family members their kids so the parents can go work in Spain Italy or here in the UK. So there are a lot of these kids staying particularly with grandparents. This is getting better as the Romania's economy becomes more stable, but there is still the pressure to raise enough money. So the mother will take a job and the father will migrate.

There isn't the institutional thing going on, because now it is a free market, and people are trying to get in on it "there's nothing free about the free market"

It's costing people, like in the Ukraine. People, especially young people want economic freedom, and not everyone that's 25 in America can get a job either. When he passed this decree in 1966, he banned abortion, women have as many children as they can. If they

could have five children were considered heroes of the state. Some years it was more enforced than other years. The reasons it was put in place “ he wanted to develop a large working class as a state” and there was a strong military aspect the “securitate” that was the state police. Every third person in Romania was a spy. Every phone was tapped, every letter going outside the country was read, and paranoia was going on. People speculate that it was the goal to create a new type of kid, one completely loyal to the state. Would depend on the state and work for the state and be a part of this security apparatus. Or they would be loyal to the state as the fatherland. Like Adolf Hitler and the brown shirts. And the Mao league in China. Same type of thing.

People will take young children and use them to become the next generation- can be used positively or negatively. And something the Catholics have said for centuries the system we have is because of the Jesuits, who invented the university,. “You give us the boy, we will give you the man” (talking about Christian pastors) now you know there is abuse with everything, but this is a part of history, even the Greeks did it. That’s what that was about.

Ceausescu was right if he gets all of these children in these institutions, then they’re going to be loyal to the state, not their parents. That’s what he wanted, that’s what a socialist system is, and you turn to the state for your needs, not the family.

It’s a big question, you could write a whole doctorate on this question, and you need to say that in your thesis. When we think of population growth like in India, there is no problem with birth control; I favor birth control, if a woman wills it. I think that the state needs to be very, very careful, there is ethics about this. Your generation is faced with a drastic change when it comes for what’s right and wrong. I don’t think that the government has a divine right, but those governments are put in place by people, and sometimes people give their governments rights to do this. Like the Catholic Church published research on procreation. People are fallible. Sometimes you have to accept the complexities of the issue and not go too deep in an undergraduate thesis.

For younger Romanians, not everyone was set into these terrible institutions. The state wanted them to have big families, the Pentecostals were glad for this, they wanted huge families. “A quiver full of arrows”. So the Pentecostal church propelled the idea of large families, and raised them. On the other side, the children in these institutions that were neglected, the ones I studied, would end up neglected or abused, and they ended up on the streets. So you’ve got these gangs, drugs, now we’ve got kids that are getting into the internet crimes, giving the Nigerians a run for their money. So it’s a two edged sword. You have families, who were genuinely, morally concerned for their kids. If i went to the International church in Bucharest, I imagine that half of those people who are now forty years old were raised in big families. Many of those people that you met, came from families from eight to ten kids.

It has definitely gone the other way now, with economics coming into play and the cost of living, most Romania's who are considering starting a family, are usually having two or three babies, four maybe, but that's now considered big. They are still having larger families than most of Europe. People are saying "oh, I'm only going to have 4 kids" but that's still large.

It's in Eastern Europe, so they have always had this sense of hospitality, and so big families weren't a problem 100 years ago. You had to have big families because a lot of the kids couldn't survive. And you needed kids to work on the farm. So the state policy that he instituted came right at the time when women were deciding that they didn't want to have all of these kids because the industrial era had begun. So he said no you're going to have these kids, you aren't going to abort them. Put them to work for the "new Romania".

Today, there are women willing to abandon their kids, but today you have to look at it as more of an economic issue. Roma people tend to have no money to pay for birth-control.

It's the lower middle class that would have four or five kids. And that family would not hesitate to send the dad to work in Spain for four or five months. I think that Romania had moved past this policy in many ways, trying to forget their communist past, but one thing that still lingers, is that when a super poor person comes to "Ragan's Place" to drop off their kids, these people still have the idea that the state will take care of these kids, but in reality the state doesn't do that very well anymore, if it ever did.

Everything was controlled from the top down, by the state. In 1990 he was killed, and now you have a whole generation of dissatisfied people. Now they have a materialistic aspect, they want to buy goods. The mothers in Romania are genially committed to their children, with the exception of extreme poverty or alcohol abuse.

Everybody had a job guaranteed under communism. Now, the unemployment rate is very high, in Eastern Europe. And this is the reason that so many girls leave Romania, Moldova, Bulgaria, that leave to work as prostitutes in Western Europe to provide for their kids. That is a way that these traffickers trick these women, promising a job in Italy for 6 months and the women leave their children with the grandparents, and she's tricked to go to work. So it does affect the mother/child relationship. From having a job under communism to now having no jobs, massive unemployment, and what do you do next? Mothers under communism were still moms. I didn't find a lot of evidence that said that they didn't. They were trying to help their kids. They thought their kids would get jobs one day, jobs with the {communist} state. So it's not like these mothers were bad women. If you worked in Romania, you would probably meet some of the committed, lovely women, who love their kids, and you would find out that this images, was put on by the west during this crisis (of the 90s)

Are they repeating the cycle: absolutely. If children are abandoned, they're going to have an "attachment disorder". I grew up in an institution that was never abandoned. The child that were intentionally abandoned; they still suffer the psychological effects of abandonment and don't make good parents. But others turn it around and love their children dearly.

The orphanages now have strong laws and are much better. Late 1990s began doing lots of childcare reform. And with joining the EU they had the same laws put on the books. There are still shortcomings in social science and understanding autism. The orphanages are small they have max of 8 kids. Not to be run by institutions, they are more family based.

There are still corrupt people that take children in for money. So they are different today. Romania's best mind are as bright as you can imagine, they really want to create a Romania that's good with children" "When the laws support women, any laws that will help a women with economic sustainability, the right of a woman, again this gets so complicated, laws need to be written to protect and safeguard women, simply because without them, our society won't survive."

Transcript Summary of Dr. Asal Mohamadi Johnson, Global Health Professor at Georgia Southern University

There are many factors that can cause population polices: religion, values families to have many kids across Abrahamic religions, if the countries government is religious government, then these rules make sense. Also politics, because population gives you power in international negotiations. Like China, they have more power because of their high populations. Basically more population, more leverage. If you do population studies, you find that this subject is very complex. You learn how to project population for the next 20 or 30 years and any wise government has to react to that. So you would know if you were going to have more people in their 20 or 30 or like in the US, if you have more seniors. Governments need to know about how this affects the economy. It is the most rational way of looking at it in my opinion. Because you will know the next few years these 20/30 year olds will need jobs. Can the government provide jobs? In the next few years, the baby boomers will need social security, can we provide/ tolerate the financial burden or not.

Romania it's interesting when they were apart of eastern Prague, they had a planned economy. Everything would be planned. They wanted to industrialize the country. It starts with a lot of labor intensive work. They needed the labor, and they had to follow those policies for economic development. They had crazy things.

In Iran before 1970 the population was about 35 million, mostly young people. About two years after the Iran and Iraq war. Put these two countries against each other. Iran had

good weapons, but Iraq also had equivalent good weapons coming from the soviets. So militarily they were at the same level. The populations weren't equal. Iraq had lots of people ready to die. Iraq's population at that time was half of Iran's. That gave us the advantage. They would send people to the front, they would die, and then they would send more. That held them off for eight years. That was the longest war of the 21st century. World War II was six years. Iraq called a cease fire. The supreme ruler asked people to give them even more kids, have more kids, and then he brought in (this is why I say many factors effect these policies) he brings ideology/religion into it. So he said to the people of Iran, add to the soldiers of the messiah. So bringing the religion into it is smart, he's convincing people who were at the time not really educated to have more kids. That would be our version of Baby boomers. My parents had five children. I'm the oldest. In the middle of the war they noticed that population was increased drastically, and the food wasn't going to feed the population. So then, in the mid-80s they started family planning. They restricted and said that 2 children were enough, and three children where tolerated by the government. The government would give subsidies but with the third and fourth kid there would be no subsidies, but they would be more expensive. The population decreased. There are many factors. But Iran tries to go back, 75 million people, and now the supreme leader says they should increase again. Because of the Persian population.

I do an abortion discussion in global health class: (looking at the map where abortion is illegal). In most industrialized countries, like here in the US, abortion is legal. So, legally, there are not much problems, however, it was on the news in Spain that they were making more restrictions on abortion. And people went into the streets and demonstrated against it. Fascinating that Spain the government was trying to limit it, but lot of people were going to the street and demonstrating against it (women's rights). This is so complex, sometimes the government wants to do it, but the people won't let it. Legalizing benefits women eventually. In many developing countries, not all, abortion is illegal. In the Middle East, South America, Sub-Saharan Africa. Even Iran with its religious government, if the mother's life is endanger, or if the child is going to be mentally retarded, then they allow the abortion. That is what Spain is going back to.

Here and other places, the condom implies promiscuity. So if you go and sleep around you wear a condom. So if you're married and you ask for a condom, then people may think that you are cheating. But it's not about cheating it's about not having children. Pills, women have this weird idea with pills that they make you fat. They make you gain weight. Which is not true, but they use it as an excuse not to take them. IUDs are very popular in Iran. Still in Arab countries they think that having more kids is a virtue. But as they are getting more developed, they automatically change to having fewer kids, it automatically decreases. In Saudi Arabia a lot of them get married really early, like in their teens. But the people who are around thirty when they do, they have only two kids.

Because it is a high income country. Most have 2-3 children. Palestine is one of the exceptions, they have 7 or 8 children, and that has to do with the belief that they are dying out. So its politics again. They want to increase the number of Palestinians. About the perception: You can't put all developing countries in one category. In sub-Saharan Africa, Because of AIDS the WHO worked to promote condoms, and then many of them are Catholics. So the pope (the one before this one) went there and asked them what they thought of condoms, and he said that you shouldn't wear it for birth control purposes. The WHO health organization reacted to that, what do you mean don't wear it not to have babies? You either wear it or you don't!"

It depends on the age groups of the populations and the population projections. Like in Japan, they know the population is aging and they will have fewer and fewer young people. Japan citizens are not interested in having kids. They are trying to convince them to have two children for every woman.

The economy's important, living expenses are important, education, women working, these all influence having less kids. And they get used to having just two kids. And they say please have kids. But culture is adaptive, and once people start having fewer children, it is really hard to get numbers back up. And that is the problem Iran has now. The government is not financing family planning anymore, so nothing has changed. Living costs are expensive. People are more modern and educated, and this makes people have fewer kids. In the last 10 20 years this is what they've seen. A person having fewer kids and this is what they want. You have minority people saying, oh I want 4 kids these days right?

Modernization will actually face that idea that big families are a virtue. In Iran, that was the mentality that "I want to have a big family, and I want my children to have sisters and brothers when they grow up "Like a social support system. And the challenge of the governments needed to change this. How does it affect culture? They would show a happy family with two children on posters and would say that more children are expensive, and you could provide a better quality of life for two. With the distribution of resources.

About her life: I remember when I was in school, and I was always embarrassed, because my family was a big family we had 5. IT was not prestigious anymore to have a big family. It would signal ignorance, uneducated, or not being intellectual. My other friends only had 1 or 2 siblings and I had 4. I remember when my mom was pregnant. When I was 12 or 13, I asked my mother to abort her, like mom this is embarrassing you already have 5 kids, how am I going to tell my friends about that? And now she's my favorite sister. That's really the mentality of society. And I think this is really changing to this in other developing countries. As the mortality rate decreases people end up with more children. So they didn't think that their children would survive so they had 7 children

thinking that 3 of them would live. That is also the trend to how many children they had. So the more money you have the more children you can have. That is the pattern everywhere. The unemployment rate is one of the calculations for any population policy. So we look at the children now, and see how many jobs they will need in 10-12 years. So sometimes governments have no choice.

Like with China, right now their population is 1.4 billion. They are still above where they want to be, but without that policy they wouldn't have been able to provide. Unemployment is an important issue, and so is land. But it's not always the case like with Palestinians. The Gaza strip has the densest population in the world, because ideologically, the idea of nationalism it is important to have children. And the Palestine people increase population as a result, for power and better negotiations. They use population progressions to decide if there is enough land or not. Land is limited, and that is how China was looking at it. Planning is big in socialist countries because they try to be ready for everything in the future.

“ I don't think the earth can support seven billion people. If you look at the Earth and seven billion people is too much of a burden, and so countries should follow family planning. And that is why immigration is a very good idea. Get the left over population and replace it. I know it is not as simple as that, but that's what Canada is doing. They make it more selective. They prioritize families with small kids and young people, people who can work in the next few years.

Modernization is affecting it (mental health) more than anything. If you have five children, it's not like they are going to stay there, they can move away. I haven't seen my parents in seven years. This makes the family relationships different. A girl like you would need to see your mother every night.

In Iran , my sister's apartment is near my mother, but if it was 20 -30 years ago, then she would live with either my mother or her husband's family. Now people move away.

IF you have fewer children, then there is more pressure put on the children. IF you have five kids, and one of them is very successful then you can always brag about that. But if you have one kids, you might push harder, and that could be much more pressure on the child. And that would affect mental health. A burden on the country because the children need nutrition to develop properly. To have a lot of children where the country cant afforded, will burden the economy. And will affect the child and burden them and not give them nutrition and you have retardation. That is not good.

They should use population projections to show how much resources they need and act accordingly. They can have lasting effects on culture. One thing we understand about culture is that it can adapt to a change. And after these adaptations are made, they continue. When you get to that point it stays.

There is a constant middle class that crosses borders. Everywhere China, Romania, Russia, and that lifestyle is about having certain comfortable things. Like vacation days. And they can only have so many children before it affects the lifestyles. Like women who have children had a chance of losing their job. So they don't have children or delay it until they have job security. Like my mom, she got married when she was 17 had her first child when she was 18. But what if she was a teacher? Working at a hospital? That could affect her job security. Women now have children from 25-35 now because they have jobs.

About China's policy: three decades is long enough to have a lasting effect on culture. Chinese people immigrate because of the limitations. Culture is not universal; it varies from country to country.